

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 11602 01 OF 04 151710Z

47

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 /026 W
----- 082333

O 151612Z AUG 75

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3407

INFO AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 4 MOSCOW 11602

EXDIS

BUCHAREST FOR CODEL ALBERT

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR UR US

SUBJ: CODEL ALBERT MEETING WITH BREZHNEV, AUGUST 14

1. SUMMARY: BREZHNEV RECEIVED CODEL ALBERT IN YALTA AUGUST 14 FOR TWO AND ONE-HALF HOURS. CONVERSATION WAS ANIMATED AND WIDE-RANGING. BREZHNEV SPOKE IN FAMILIAR TERMS OF HIS DESIRE FOR FRIENDLY U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS, MUTUALLY ADVANTAGEOUS TRADE, PEACE AND DISARMAMENT. HE PRAISED CSCE FINAL ACT, NOTING SOME PARTS OF DOCUMENT CONSISTED OBLIGATIONS AND OTHER PARTS, ESPECIALLY THOSE REGARDING INFORMATION, WOULD REQUIRE AGREEMENTS BETWEEN STATES. EMIGRATION QUESTION WAS DISCUSSED AT LENGTH BUT WITHOUT PARTICULAR RANCOR. BREZHNEV FOLLOWED USUAL TACK, ASSERTING THAT ALL LEAVE WHO WANT (EXCEPT FOR SECURITY CASES) AND NUMBER OF THOSE APPLYING TO LEAVE IS DECLINING IN ANY CASE. ON PORTUGAL, HE SAID SITUATION IS COMPLICATED AND STRESSED STRICT SOVIET POLICY OF NONINTERFERENCE. HE AVOIDED DIRECT COMMENT ON PROPOSAL FOR PUTTING SOVIET GRAIN PURCHASES ON REGULAR BASIS. BREZHNEV GAVE BALANCE REPLY ON QUESTION CONCERNING SALT II PROSPECTS; HE CITED CRUISE MISSILE PROBLEM AS ONE OF KEY OUTSTANDING ISSUES, SAID BOTH SOVIET UNION AND U.S. HAD MOVED CLOSER TOGETHER, AND HE ANTICIPATED AGREEMENT WOULD BE SIGNED WHEN HE COMES TO WASHINGTON.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 11602 01 OF 04 151710Z

BREZHNEV'S COLOR WAS BETTER AND HE SEEMED SOMEWHAT

MORE VIGOROUS THAN IN HELSINKI, BUT HE STILL APPEARS FATIGUED. HE MADE INTERESTING COMMENT CONCERNING HIS DENTAL PROBLEMS. OVERALL ATMOSPHERE OF MEETING WAS POSITIVE AND CORDIAL. CODEL APPRECIATED TIME BREZHNEV GAVE THEM, WHICH REFLECTS TOP LEVEL TREATMENT RECEIVED THROUGHOUT SOVIET TOUR. FOLLOWING MEETING, REPRESENTATIVE BRADAMES TELEPHONED SUMMARY OF TALK TO U.S. CORRESPONDENTS IN MOSCOW. END SUMMARY.

2. BREZHNEV RECEIVED CODEL ALBERT AND AMBASSADOR IN MODEN, GLASS PAVILION SET IN PINE GROVE IN HILLS ABOVE YALTA AT 4:00 P.M. AUGUST 14. PAVILION IS NOT FAR FROM SMALL CASTLE BUILT BY ALEXANDER III. AMBASSADOR UNDERSTOOD THAT PAVILION WAS PLACE WHERE BREZHNEV IN PAST HAS RECEIVED HEADS OF EASTERN EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES. ACCOMPANYING BREZHNEV ON SOVIET SIDE WERE PONOMAREV, RUBEN, G.E. TSUKANOV, ZAMYATIN, ARBATOV, SUKHODREV AND VAVILOV. ALSO AT END OF TABLE TAKING NOTES WAS SOVIET WOMAN WHO HAS BEEN SEEN PREVIOUSLY IN OTHER ROLES (I.E. STEWARDESS, SERVING TEA AT KREMLIN ETC.).

3. AFTER OPENING AMENITIES, SPEAKER ALBERT EXPRESSED DEEP APPRECIATION THAT BREZHNEV HAD TAKEN TIME FROM HIS VACATION TO RECEIVE DELEGATION. HE ALSO PRAISED SOVIET REPRESENTATIVES WHO HAD PARTICIPATED IN TALKS IN MOSCOW AND SAID THAT GROUP FELT THAT IT HAD BEEN RECEIVED IN OUTSTANDING FASHION.

4. BREZHNEV RESPONDED BRIEFLY AND, CONTRARY TO HIS CUSTOM, DID NOT MAKE EXTENDED STATEMENT. HE SAID ALL MEMBERS OF CODEL WOULD WANT TO KNOW IF SOVIET UNION WISHED TO HAVE FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH THE U.S.; HIS ANSWER WAS AN EMPHATIC "YES*" HE CONTINUED THAT ANOTHER VERY IMPORTANT QUESTION WAS THAT STRATEGIC ARMS. REPRESENTATIVE PRICE COMMENTED THAT HE BELIEVED THERE IS AN INTENSE DESIRE ON THE PART OF THE U.S. TO WORK WITH THE SOVIET UNION ON CONTROL OF STRATEGIC ARMS. HE FELT THIS WAS AN IMPORTANT PART OF U.S. POLICY, AS IT WAS OF SOVIET POLICY, AND THAT THIS WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO WORLD PEACE. BREZHNEV SAID HE AGREED.
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 11602 01 OF 04 151710Z

5. TAKING UP ANOTHER SUBJECT, BREZHNEV SAID HE FEELS THAT 90 PERCENT OF THE U.S. PEOPLE DO NOT REALLY KNOW WHAT LIFE IS LIKE IN THE SOVIET UNION. THE BULK OF THEIR INFORMATION COMES FROM THE MASS MEDIA. ALBERT ASKED IF THIS WASN'T ALSO TRUE FOR SOVIET UNDERSTANDING OF THE U.S. BREZHNEV RECALLED HIS SPEECH AT CSCE IN HELSINKI, WHERE HE HAD SAID THAT INFORMATION CAN SERVE DETENTE OR, ON THE CONTRARY,

IT CAN SPREAD POISON AND NOT SERVE DETENTE. HE FELT THERE WERE MANY EXAMPLES OF THE LATTER. ALBERT COMMENTED THAT THERE IS FULL FREEDOM OF PRESS IN U.S. AND THAT, WHERE THERE IS SUFFICIENT COMPETITION, HE HOPED TRUE FACTS WOULD COME OUT.

6. CONTINUING ABOUT HELSINKI CONFERENCE, BREZHNEV SAID THAT THE PREVIOUS LACK OF CONFIDENCE WHICH HAD EXISTED ON BOTH SIDES DEMANDED CONCLUSION OF A FIRM,SOLID DOCUMENT WHICH WOULD POINT THE WAY TOWARD THE FUTURE --FOR 10 YEARS OR MORE--SO THAT THERE COULD BE BETTER RELATIONS BETWEEN PEOPLES AND MORE TRANQUILITY. HE THOUGHT THAT THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT REPRESENTED THE BEST WAY TO STRENGTHEN THE BONDS OF FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO GREAT COUNTRIES DESPITE THEIR DIFFERENT SOCIAL SYSTEMS. IN EMOTIONAL TONES, BREZHNEV EXCLAIMED, "WHY THE HELL DO WE NEED A BOMB? WHY DO WE NEED A WAR?" HE ADDED THAT MODERN WEAPONS CONSTITUTED A TERRIBLE FORCE. ALBERT ADDED THAT THE WORLD DID NOT NEED WAR AND THAT, IF IT HAPPENED, IT WOULD BE THE END OF THE WORLD.

7. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTION FROM REPRESENTATIVE PRICE AS TO WHETHER BREZHNEV WAS ENCOURAGED BY TRENDS REFLECTING AS SEARCH FOR PEACE, BREZHNEV RESPONDED AFFIRMATIVELY. AGAIN REFERRING TO HELSINKI, HE SAID HISTORY HAD NEVER WITNESSED A CONFERENCE WHERE 35 COUNTRIES HAD COME TOGETHER AND HAD SIGNED SUCH A SIGNIFICANT DOCUMENT. OF COURSE, THERE REMAIN SOME MINOR MATTERS TO BE DEALT WITH, BUT WE SHOULD CONSIDER THE IMPORTANCE OF WHAT HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED. BREZHNEV SAID HE VALUED THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE HIGHLY; THE SPIRIT AT HELSINKI WAS NOT ONE OF TENSION BUT OF DETENTE. SOME POINTS OF THE FINAL ACT ARE OF A BINDING NATURE, WHILE SOME POINTS CONCERNING CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 MOSCOW 11602 01 OF 04 151710Z

THE EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION WILL REQUIRE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE VARIOUS PARTIES. EVERYTHING WILL DEVELOP AS TIME GOES ON.

8. AFTER CONGRATULATING BREZHNEV ON THE LEADING ROLE HE HAD PLAYED IN THE CSCE, ALBERT SAID THAT MAJORITY OF PEOPLE IN THE U.S. FEEL THAT THE HELSINKI DOCUMENT WAS GOOD AND THEY WELCOME MOST OF IT. OF COURSE,SOME PEOPLE CRITICIZE PARTS OF THE DOCUMENT, BUT THIS CAN ONLY BE EXPECTED. ALBERT WENT ON TO NOTE OUTSTANDING ROLE BREZHNEV HAS PLAYED OVER MANY YEARS AS WORLD LEADER

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 11602 02 OF 04 151742Z

42

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 /026 W

----- 082667

O 151612Z AUG 75

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3408

INFO AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 4 MOSCOW 11602

EXDIS

BUCHAREST FOR CODEL ALBERT

AND SAID THAT, IF HE IS SUCCESSFUL IN HIS QUEST FOR
DETENTE, IT WILL BE SAID THAT BREZHNEV NOT ONLY
PLAYED A ROLE IN HISTORY BUT THAT HE HAD WORKED FOR
PEACE. ALBERT ALSO NOTED DANGER OF NUCLEAR PROLIFERA-
TION INVOLVING SMALLER STATES AND THOUGHT THAT IT WOULD
BE DESIRABLE TO LIMIT POSSIBILITIES IN THIS DIRECTION.
HE AGAIN CONGRATULATED BREZHNEV ON HIS LEADERSHIP
CONCERNING DETENTE AND SAID THE U.S. ALSO WISHED TO
PLAY ITS ROLE IN THIS REGARD.

9. BREZHNEV THANKED ALBERT AND RECALLED THAT AT
24TH PARTY CONGRESS HE HAD SET GOAL OF INVIGORATING
THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND THAT HE AND HIS COLLEAGUES
HAD WORKED FOR THIS AIM. HE ASKED, RHETORICALLY, WHAT
ALTERNATIVE THEY HAD. WHO REALLY WANTS TO DIE IN A
WAR? HE THOUGHT THAT HELSINKI HAD LAID A STRONG
FOUNDATION FOR THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF CONFIDENCE
AND COOPERATION BETWEEN NATION. AT THE SAME TIME, HE
FELT THAT THERE WAS A STRONG CURRENT OF ANTI-SOVIET
PROPAGANDA IN THE U.S., BUT FOR THE TIME BEING HE WAS
KEEPING QUIET ABOUT THIS. ALBERT SAID THAT THERE ARE
ALWAYS DIFFERENCES OF OPINION IN THE U.S. AND THAT
AMERICANS ALSO HAVE MANY DISPUTES BETWEEN THEMSELVES.

10. ALBERT THEN REVIEWED THE DELEGATION'S TALKS IN
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 11602 02 OF 04 151742Z

MOSCOW, SAYING THAT THEY HAD CONCENTRATED ON ARMS REDUCTION, TRADE AND THE HELSINKI CSCE DOCUMENT, PRIMARILY BASKET III. AS BREZHNEV KNEW, THERE ARE CONCERNS ABOUT EMIGRATION FROM THE SOVIET UNION AND THIS WAS A MATTER WHICH HAD BEEN RAISED IN CONNECTION WITH THE DISCUSSIONS ON TRADE AND BASKET III. ALBERT SAID THAT ALL QUESTIONS HAD BEEN FRANKLY DISCUSSED. THERE WERE MAY DIFFICULT PROBLEMS BUT HE FELT THAT, IF WE DID NOT WORK THEM OUT TOGETHER, THE HUMAN RACE WOULD DESTROY ITSELF.

(NOTE AS NUMBERED)

10. PICKING UP THE POINT ON EMIGRATION, BREZHNEV SIGHED AND SAID IN A RESIGNED TONE THAT HE HAD SPOKEN ABOUT THIS SUBJECT "155 TIMES." IN IT IS TRUE, HE STATED, THAT THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE OF JEWISH NATIONALITY WHO WISH TO LEAVE THE SOVIET UNION IS FALLING. HE DIDN'T KNOW WHAT HE COULD DO ABOUT THIS.

11. ALBERT SAID HE WOULD REFRAIN FORM MAKING ANY SUGGESTIONS ON THIS SCORE. FOR A FEW MEMBERS OF THE DELEGATION, THIS WAS A VERY IMPORTANT QUESTION; FOR OTHERS, IT WAS NOT. HE HAD APPOINTED AD HOC COMMITTEE UNDER REPRESENTATIVE YATES, WHO WAS ONE OF THE MOST CONCERNED MEMBERS, TO DISCUSS PROBLEMS AND PRONOMAREV HAD TALKED WITH THIS GROUP. THEY ALSO HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO MEET WITH SOME OF THE PEOPLE WHO HAVE EXPERIENCED PROBLEMS, AND YATES HAD SUBMITTED LISTS OF NAMES AND HAD RECEIVED ASSURANCES THAT ALL THESE CASES WOULD BE LOOKED AT CAREFULLY. ALBERT THOUGHT THE DELEGATION HAD BEEN TREATED VERY WELL IN THIS REGARD AND THAT THE SOVIET SIDE HAD BEEN VERY FAIR.

12. BREZHNEV REPLIED THAT ALL THIS WAS NORMAL. PERHPAS THERE WERE SOME CASES WHICH SHOULD BE LOOKED INTO. HE HAD MERELY STATED THAT FACT THAT THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE WISHING TO LEAVE IS DECLINING. HE PERSONLLY DID NOT HAVE THE TIME TO LOOK INTO EVERY INDIVIDUAL CASE, BUT HE STRESSED THAT THE GOVERNING PRINCIPLE WAS TO LET ALL THOSE GO WHO WANTED TO GO. THE ONLY EXCEPTION CONCERNED THOSE WHO HAD WORKED ON SECURITY MATTERS.
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 11602 02 OF 04 151742Z

13. REPRESENTATIVE YATES STATED THAT IN ALL OF HIS YEARS IN POLITICS HE HAD NEVER BEEN TREATED WITH GREATER COURTESY THAN HE HAD BEEN BY PONOMAREV. PONOMAREV HAD

ARRANGED FOR HIM TO SEE DEPUTY INTERIOR MINISTER PAPUTIN, WHO HAD RECEIVED THE NAMES FROM YATES OF PERSONS WHO HE FELT DESERVED SPECIAL CONSIDERATION. HE HAD BEEN INFORMED THAT EACH CASE WOULD BE CHECKED AND THAT, IF POSSIBLE, APPROVAL FOR EXIT WOULD BE GRANTED. HE HAD AGREED WITH PAPUTIN THAT, IF QUESTIONS AROSE IN THE FUTURE, YATES WOULD BE PERMITTED TO WRITE DIRECTLY TO HIM. YATES ADDED THAT THERE ARE MANY GREAT MATTERS TO BE DISCUSSED BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES AND THAT EMIGRATION QUESTION HAS BEEN A DETERRENT TO THIS. HE LOOKED FORWARD TO THE TIME WHEN WE WOULD NO LONGER NEED TO BE CONCERNED ABOUT IT AND COULD CONCENTRATE ON THE REALLY IMPORTANT THINGS.

14. ALTHOUGH BOTH CODEL AND BREZHNEV SEEMED DESIROUS OF ENDING DISCUSSION OF EMIGRATION AT THIS POINT, PONOMAREV INTERVENED, FOLLOWING STATEMENT BY ALBERT PRAISING APOLLO-SOYUZ COOPERATION, TO REITERATE VARIOUS POINTS OF SOVIET POSITION ON EMIGRATION. HE ASKED YATES AND OTHER CODEL MEMBER TO INFORM THE PUBLIC IN THE U.S. OF THE REAL STATE OF AFFAIRS ON THIS SUBJECT IN THE SOVIET UNION AND ASSERTED THAT THE INFORMATION THEY HAD BEEN GIVEN WAS "HONEST, FAIR AND TRUE." WHEN PONOMAREV STATED THAT 99 PERCENT OF JEWS IN SOVIET UNION DO NOT WISH TO LEAVE, YATES AGREED THAT THIS PROBABLY WAS SO, BUT HE NOTED THAT A FEW JEWS DO WISH TO DEPART. HE THOUGHT THE SAME WAS TRUE FOR THE U.S., WHERE MOST JEWS WISH TO REMAIN, BUT A FEW WISH TO GO TO ISRAEL.

15. BREZHNEV SAID HE WISHED TO CONCLUDE DISCUSSION OF THIS MATTER BY SAYING A FEW WORDS. HE RECALLED THAT SENATOR JACKSON HAD ONCE MENTIONED A FIGURE OF 60,000 EMIGRANTS A YEAR. WHERE WAS BREZHNEV TO FIND THEM? THE FIGURES HAD GONE DOWN AND BREZHNEV HAD INFORMED THE PRESIDENT ABOUT THESE FIGURES. THEN PEOPLE BEGAN TO TAKE UP SPECIFIC CASES WHERE, FOR EXAMPLE, A HUSBAND

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 MOSCOW 11602 02 OF 04 151742Z

WANTS TO LEAVE AND A WIFE DOES NOT. SOME OF THESE CASES ARE EXAGGERATED OUT OF ALL PROPORTION. ALSO, MANY REQUESTS ARE MADE BY PEOPLE WHO HAVE LEFT TO RETURN TO THE SOVIET UNION. SOME OF THESE COME FROM PEOPLE WHO HAVE GONE TO THE U.S., WHERE "LIFE HAS NOT BEEN TOO SWEET FOR THEM." BREZHNEV CONCLUDED BY SAYING THAT THE WHOLE MATTER WAS DIFFICULT. (THROUGHOUT THIS PORTION OF CONVERSATION, PONOMAREV WAS PROMPTING BREZHNEV WITH SUGGESTIONS.)

16. BREZHNEV WENT ON TO SAY THAT HE HAD BEEN THROUGH

WHOLE WAR AND HE HAD SEEN TOO MUCH OF WHAT WAR IS LIKE.
HE HAS DEVOTED HIS ENTIRE LIFE AND WOULD DEVOTE THE
REMAINDER OF HIS LIFE TO THE EFFORT TO PREVENT WAR.
WE NEEDED TO LOOK BEYOND MINOR PROBLEMS TO THE MAJOR
PROBLEMS WHICH FACE US SO THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, THE
SOVIET PEOPLE, AND ALL PEOPLES OF EUROPE COULD LIVE IN
PEACE. HE HAS ALWAYS FELT THAT "TO LEAD IS TO FORESEE."
COMPARED WITH THESE ISSUES OF WAR AND PEACE, QUESTIONS
ABOUT WHO SEES WHOM OR WHO LEAVES A COUNTRY ARE MINOR.
OUR TWO GREAT NATIONS MUST LIVE IN PEACE, AND HE AND
PRESIDENT FORD MUST FOCUS ON WHAT WE WANT. FOR BREZHNEV,

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 11602 03 OF 04 151828Z

47

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 /026 W

----- 083095

O 151612Z AUG 75

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3409

INFO AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 4 MOSCOW 11602

EXDIS

BUCHAREST FOR CODEL ALBERT

THIS MEANT PEACE, DETENTE, MUTUALLY ADVANTAGEOUS
TRADE - THIS IS SOVIET POLICY.

17. PICKING UP ON A QUESTION ASKED BY REPRESENTATIVE
ZABLOCKI ON SALT II, HE RECALLED THAT HE AND PRESIDENT
FORD HAD AGREED AT HELSINKI TO REFER ISSUES WHICH HAD
ALREADY BEEN AGREED TO DELEGATIONS IN GENEVA. THIS
SHOWS WE ARE MOVING TOGETHER. OF COURSE, HE AND THE
PRESIDENT COULD NOT GO INTO ALL OF THE TECHNICAL
DETAILS. SECRETARY KISSINGER WOULD MEET WITH GROMYKO
SOON AND THEN WOULD MEET WITH HIM (BREZHNEV); WHEN
THERE WAS AN AGREEMENT, IT WOULD BE SIGNED IN THE U.S.
ZABLOCKI WONDERED IF THE AGREEMENT WOULD BE SIGNED

THIS YEAR AND BREZHNEV REPLIED THAT THEY WERE WORKING ON THIS. WHEN ZABLOCKI ASKED IF OCTOBER WOULD NOT BE A GOOD MONTH. PONOMAREV STEPPED IN TO SAY THAT FURTHER EXCHANGES OF VIEW WITH THE U.S. WERE NECESSARY BEFORE THE DATE COULD BE FINALIZED.

18. ZABLOCKI ASKED WHAT THE MOST DIFFICULT SINGLE PROBLEM WAS IN CONNECTION WITH SALT II. BREZHNEV REPLIED THAT THIS INVOLVED TECHNICAL QUESTIONS. IN VLADIVOSTOK THERE HAD BEEN DISCUSSION ABOUT MISSILES AND THEIR RANGE. NOW A QUESTION HAD BEEN RAISED CONCERNING CRUISE MISSILES AND THEIR RANGE. THE SOVIET UNION HAD CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 11602 03 OF 04 151828Z

MET THE U.S. POSITIONS HALFWAY ON SOME ISSUES AND THE U.S. HAD MET THE SOVIET UNION ON OTHERS. THERE WAS ALSO SOME QUESTION CONCERNING THE DEPLOYMENT OF MISSILES ON WARSHIPS. THESE MATTERS WERE OF CONCERN TO BREZHNEV PERSONALLY, AS HE KNEW THEY WERE TO THE U.S. THERE WAS ALSO CONCERN REGARDING THE GEOGRAPHIC POSITIONS OF THE TWO COUNTRIES (BREZHNEV'S MEANING HERE WAS UNCLEAR). ALL OF THESE MATTERS WILL BE CONSIDERED TWO IF NOT THREE TIMES MORE BEFORE AN AGREEMENT IS FINALLY WORKED OUT.

19. BREZHNEV SAID THAT THE PRESENT SALT AGREEMENT EXTENDS TO OCTOBER 1977. THE SOVIETS WANT AN AGREEMENT COVERING THE NEXT TEN YEARS AND PRESIDENT FORD AGREES WITH THIS. THE SOVIETS UNDERSTAND THE PRESIDENT'S PROBLEMS AND KNOW THAT HE IS BEING ATTACKED FROM RIGHT AND LEFT. HOWEVER, BREZHNEV SAID HIS TALKS WITH THE PRESIDENT HAD BEEN IN THE DIRECTION OF DETENTE IN ORDER THAT THERE WILL NOT BE A WAR. THIS IS THE MAIN THING AND ON THIS THE TWO OF THEM HAD SHAKEN HANDS.

20. REPRESENTATIVE MICHEL ASKED IF BREZHNEV WAS CONCERNED ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF ANOTHER WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND ASKED FOR COMMENTS ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY FOR A SETTLEMENT. BREZHNEV REPLIED THAT IT WAS THE ARABS AND ISRAELIS WHO WERE FIGHTING; HE WAS INTERESTED IN SEEING TRANQUILITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST. BOTH THE SOVIET UNION AND THE U.S. HAD VOTED IN THE US SECURITY COUNCIL FOR THE DISENGAGEMENT OF FORCES AND FOR GIVING ALL NATIONS GUARANTEES; THE LATTER COULD BE DONE BY OUR TWO COUNTRIES AND ANY OTHERS WHO WISHED TO JOIN IN. THESE GUARANTEES WOULD INCLUDE ISRAEL AND ALL OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE AREA.

21. REPRESENTATIVE BURTON WAS INTERESTED IN OTHER

TROUBLE SPOTS WHICH BREZHNEV FORESAW, PARTICULARLY PORTUGAL AND THE SITUATION THERE. BREZHNEV SAID THAT SITUATION IN PORTUGAL WAS COMPLICATED. A NEW GOVERNMENT HAD BEEN FORMED WHICH DID NOT INCLUDE COMMUNISTS AND WAS MADE UP OF MILITARY SPECIALISTS. (BREZHNEV SEEMED CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 11602 03 OF 04 151828Z

SOMEWHAT UNCERTAIN IN DISCUSSING THE COMPOSITION OF THE GOVERNMENT.) BREZHNEV SAID THAT THE SOVIETS FAVOR A POLICY OF STRICT NONINTERFERENCE IN PORTUGAL. THEY FEEL IT IS FOR THE PORTUGUESE TO SETTLE THEIR AFFAIRS. ON THE GENERAL QUESTION TROUBLE SPOTS, BREZHNEV SAID THERE IS NOTHING EASIER THAN TO PICK A QUARREL AND START A FIGHT. HE ASKED IF ANY CODEL MEMBERS, AFTER THEIR TRAVELS IN THE USSR, FELT THERE WERE RUSSIANS WHO WANTED WAR. RECEIVING A NEGATIVE RESPONSE, BREZHNEV REQUESTED ALL CODEL MEMBERS TO TELL THE U.S. PEOPLE WHAT THEY HAD SEEN AND HEARD IN THE SOVIET UNION.

22. REPRESENTATIVE GREEN STATED THAT HE FELT THE PREVIOUS DISCUSSION ON TRADE HAD CONCENTRATED ON BARRIERS TO TRADE. HOWEVER, HE THOUGHT A COMMON THEME IN THE TALKS THE DELEGATION HAD HELD HAD BEEN TO FAVOR MUTUALLY ADVANTAGEOUS TRADE. THIS IS NECESSARY FOR BOTH COUNTRIES AND CAN HELP BRING GREATER STABILITY AND CONFIDENCE. GREEN SAID THT THE GROUP HAD COME TO THE SOVIET UNION IN THE SPIRIT OF DETENTE AND WOULD GO HOME IN THE SAME SPIRIT. HE THOUGHT THIS WAS ALSO THE DESIRE OF THEIR SOVIET COUNTERPARTS. GREEN FELT THAT TRADE WOULD HELP STRENGTHEN RELATIONS. BREZHNEV WELCOMED THIS STATEMENT.

23. REPESENTATIVE LATTA RAISED THE QUESTION OF GRAIN SALES, WHICH SOME PEOPLE SAY CAUSE PRICE INCREASES, AND WONDERED IF IT WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE TO CARRY OUT SUCH SALES ON A MORE PLANNED BASIS. HE THOUGHT THIS WOULD BE MUTUALLY ADVANTAGEOUS. BREZHNEV DID NOT RESPOND DIRECTLY. HE SAID THAT TWO QUESTIONS WERE INVOLVED, (1) THE SALE OF GRAIN AND (2) THE PRICE OF BREAD. WHILE THE PRICE OF GRAIN CAN FLUCTUATE, THE PRICE OF BREAD (BY IMPLICATION, IN THE SOVIET UNION) CAN REMAIN STABLE. HE THOUGHT THIS WAS A MATTER OF POLICY.

24. REPRESENTATIVE BRADEMAS REFERRED TO THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE AND THOUGHT BREZHNEV WOULD NOT DISAGREE THAT THE PRINCIPAL INTEREST OF THE SOVIET UNION THERE HAD BEEN TO CONFIRM THE POSTWAR FRONTIERS OF EUROPE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 MOSCOW 11602 03 OF 04 151828Z

WHEREAS FOR THE U.S. AND THE WESTERN COUNTRIES THE
PRINCIPAL INTEREST WAS IN BASKET III. THE SOVIET
REPRESENTATIVES HAD ASSURED THE DELEGATION THAT THE
SOVIET UNION INTENDED FULLY TO COMPLY WITH ALL OF THE
PROVISIONS OF BASKET III. BRADEMANS ASKED IF BREZHNEV
WOULD HAVE ANY OBJECTION TO ESTABLISHMENT OF A MECHANISM
TO CHECK THE IMPLEMENTATION BY ALL SIGNATORIES OF THE
PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT. BREZHNEV RESPONDED
BLANDLY THAT THE SOVIETS HAD WANTED EXACTLY SUCH A
MECHANISM, BUT THERE HAD NOT BEEN FULL AGREEMENT ON THIS
IN PHASE TWO AT GENEVA. THEREFORE, IT HAD BEEN AGREED
THAT THERE WOULD BE A MEETING IN TWO YEARS TIME IN
BELGRADE TO CHECK ALL ASPECTS OF THE AGREEMENT.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 11602 04 OF 04 151829Z

42

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 /026 W
----- 083041

O 151612Z AUG 75

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3410

INFO AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST IMMEDIATE

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 4 OF 4 MOSCOW 11602

EXDIS

BUCHAREST FOR CODEL ALBERT

25. MRS. FENWICK HAD NO QUESTION BUT SHE SAID SHE FELT
THAT GROUP HAD COME WITH HOPE OF FURTHERING RELATIONS
BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES AND WOULD LEAVE WITH EVEN GREATER
HOPE THAT INCREASED TRUST BETWEEN US IS POSSIBLE. SHE THEN
RELATED STORY TO INDICATE VIEW THAT PEOPLE OF GOOD WILL CAN
WORK OUT AGREEMENTS BETWEEN THEMSELVES.

26. REPRESENTATIVE BEVILL SPOKE NEXT, INDICATING THAT, AS MEMBER OF FOREIGN OPERATIONS COMMITTEE, HE HANDLED MATTERS PERTAINING TO EX-IM BANK. HE SAID HE WAS NATURALLY INTERESTED IN TRADE MATTERS AND WAS CONVINCED AFTER MEETINGS IN THE SOVIET UNION THT OUR TWO COUNTRIES SHOULD RESOLVE THEIR PROBLEMS ABOUT TRADE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE; HE FELT THAT CREDIT ARRANGEMENTS COULD BE WORKED OUT. ARBATOV ADDED THAT ACTION SHOULD ALSO BE TAKEN ON MFN AND NOTED THIS WAS SPECIFIED IN BASKET II OF THE FINAL ACT AT HELSINKI.

27. BREZHNEV ASKED SPEAKER ALBERT TO CONVEY HIS VERY BEST GREETINGS TO PRESIDENT FORD. HE ALSO ASKED THAT THE DELEGATION TELL THE US PEOPLE HONESTLY AND LOUDLY WHAT THEY HAD SEEN AND EXPERIENCED IN THE SOVIET UNION. THE MAIN THING WAS THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS AGAINST WAR, INCLUDING MUTUALLY ADVANTAGEOUS TRADE. HE SAID HE WAS VERY PLEASE THAT THE DELEGATION HAD COME TO THE SOVIET UNION AND HE PERSONALLY HAD BEEN GLAD TO MEET WITH CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 11602 04 OF 04 151829Z

THEM.

28. BREZHNEV THEN ASKED THAT VODKA BE SERVED AND SPEAKER ALBERT PRESENTED PRESENTS FROM DELEGATION TO BREZHNEV. AFTER FURTHER AMENITIES, BREZHEV REVERTED AGAIN TO PEACE AND WAR THEM. HE RECALLED HIS PRE-ELECTIONAL SPEECH LAST JUNE, AND HIS SUGGESTION FOR PREVENTING DEVELOPMENT OF EVEN MORE TERRIBLE WEAPONS. SUBSEQUENTLY, MANY PEOPLE HAD SUGGESTED THAT THIS INDICATED THT SOVIET UNION MUST ALREADY HAVE SUCH WEAPONS, BUT THIS IS NOT TRUE. THE POINT IS THAT NO COUNTRIES SHOULD HAVE THEM. BREZHNEV SAID HE WAS SPEAKING AS AN ENGINEER AND HE REFERRED TO GREAT TECHNICAL FEAT REPRESENTED BY DOCKING OF APOLLO-SOYUZ. IF THIS COULD BE DONE FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES, SCIENTISTS COULD ALSO DO EVEN MORE AMAZING THING IN CONNECTION WITH WARLIKE PURPOSES. BREZHNEV SAID HIS PROPOSAL WAS AN APPEAL FOR PEACE AND CAME FROM HIS HEART.

29. BREZHNEV DID NOT SMOKE DURING MEETING. WHILE AUTOGRAPHING APOLLO-SOYUZ CIGARETTE PACKS FOR DELEGATION, HE NOTED THAT HE HAD NOT SMOKED SINCE HELSINKI MEETING. AT HELSINKI, HE SAID HE HAD NOT FELT IT APPROPRIATE TO SMOKE IN THE MEETING HALL, EVEN THOUGH OTHERS DID SO. ALSO, HAD BEEN HAVING TROUBLE WITH HIS GUMS AND A DENTIST WAS WITH HIM IN HELSINKI. THE DENTIST MASSAGED HIS GUMS EVERY MORNING AS SOON AS HE WOKE UP. THIS WAS TO STIMULATE THE FLOW OF BLOOD TO THE GUMS. WHEN HE SMOKED, THIS NARROWED THE BLOOD VESSELS AND RESTRICTED THE FLOW OF BLOOD, AND BREZHNEV COULD NOTICE THIS EFFECT. THEREFORE, HE HAD GIVEN UP SMOKING, EVEN THOUGH HE WANTED TO SMOKE VERY MUCH.

30. THE MEETING ENDED AT 6:20P.M. ACCOMPANYING THE DELEGATION OUTSIDE OF THE MEETING ROOM, BREZHNEV ASKED IF THE MEMBERS WOULD LIKE TO VISIT THE ALEXANDER PALACE WHICH THEY HAD PASSED ON THE WAY UP. ALL AGREED ENTHUSIASTICALLY. BREZHNEV THEREUPON GOT INTO THE BACK SEAT OF BLACK ROLLS ROYCE SEDAN WHICH APPEARED ON DRIVEWAY AND LED CONVOY OF DELEGATION CARS AND BUS TO THE PALACE, WHERE HE TOOK GROUP THROUGH DOWNSTAIRS ROOMS FOR 25-MINUTE TOUR. (PALACE IS SMALL AND HAS BEEN FURNISHED WITH SOVIET STYLE FURNITURE.)

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 11602 04 OF 04 151829Z

31. I THOUGHT BREZHNEV LOOKED SOMEWHAT BETTER THAN HE HAD IN HELSINKI, ALTHOUGH HE STILL SHOWS SIGNS OF WEIGHT LOSS AND ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS SEEMED TO BE UNSURE OF HIMSELF AND TO GROPE FOR WORDS. HIS COLOR IS BETTER AND HE SEEMS FAIRLY ALERT MENTALLY ALTHOUGH THERE IS OVERALL IMPRESSION OF FATIGUE.
STOESSEL

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 15 AUG 1975
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GarlanWA
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975MOSCOW11602
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750283-0244
From: MOSCOW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750849/aaaabqjw.tel
Line Count: 624
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 12
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GarlanWA
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 12 MAY 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <12 MAY 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <14 JUL 2003 by GarlanWA>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CODEL ALBERT MEETING WITH BREZHNEV, AUGUST 14
TAGS: PFOR, UR, US, (ALBERT, CARL), (BREZHNEV, LEONID I)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006